The COMMONWEAL

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The Adventures of the Young Soldier in Search of the Better World

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The Russian Record

FOR three years THE COMMONWEAL has tried to be fair in its attitude toward Russia. While unalterably opposing certain historic elements in the Soviet régime, we have sought to appraise the good changes which unquestionably have been taking place in this vast empire and have given all credit to the heroism and self-sacrifice of its people, thanks largely to which our victory in the war now seems assured. We have always insisted that a certain mutual openness of policy is the one essential if England, the United States and Russia are to live together in the world after the war—and to look forward to any other possibility is to be very close to despair.

But two recent developments cannot help making Americans and Britons wonder whether Moscow is practicing even a minimum of openness. The more dramatic of these is the situation in Warsaw. This tragic episode now emerges a little more clearly from the welter of conflicting reports. Beyond question the uprising of the Polish patriots was called for by both the English and the Russian Polish radio. It took place. That it was called for seems to have been a ghastly mistake, but once the mistake was made, decency required that both parties to the mistake do their best to redeem it. At great risk the RAF did its best; at far less risk, the Russian air force did nothing. The second disturbing development is that described by Mr. Burnham in last week's COMMONWEAL. England and the US are pretty well committed to holding Germany down after the war; it looks as though Russia had decided that she wanted a strong Germany, with a strong military establishment, perhaps to act as an alternative means of pressure to the internal pressure she may be able to exert throughout the rest of Europe. As political morals go, this is legitimate enough; yet if Russia elects to play such a game, we shall be forced out of self-interest to play a corresponding game, and the catastrophe of another world war will be that much more certain.

Alienating Friends

TWO WEEKS ago we pointed out the importance of collaborating with our real friends in Brazil. Events in Argentina during the past few days underline the necessity of developing such a policy throughout South America. For when Secretary Hull in an off-hand way at a press conference accused Argentina of providing the nest for the nazi movement in the Western hemisphere and Argentina withdrew from the Montevideo Emergency Advisory Committee for the Political Defense of the Continent, evidences of forces friendly to the United States came to light. *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, while objecting to the Hull method of making charges, emphasized the fact that there are no real issues between Argentina and the United States. The same week the National Lawyers Guild of this country released an underground message from 14 members of the dissolved Bar Association of Tucumán to the effect that even today a free election would show a majority in Argentina in favor of the United Nations.

There is one statement in the Argentine lawyers' message which cannot be too often repeated: "Unity of the governments of the continent would be of no value if those governments were not really representing the will of their people." That is the key to the situation in Brazil and, by reaction, to our difficulties in the Argentine, too.

As far as Brazil goes, the evidence all points to the fact that the manner in which we armed Brazil to ward off any threat from Dakar has, in fact, strengthened the hold of the Vargas régime over an unwilling Brazilian people. And now that the threat has passed, our continued support of the Brazilian military dictatorship is actually alienating our genuine friends, the legal and constitutional elements now undergoing repression.

Moreover the unilateral arming of Brazil set off the military coup in rival Argentina and, what

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is worse, factions in both countries are said to be spoiling for a war to decide the hegemony of South America. Thus our continued support of Vargas alienates great masses of the Brazilian people and strengthens the anti-United States Farrell régime in Buenos Aires to boot. When on top of this we call the Argentine government names, we futher consolidate its hold over the Argentine people and alienate the very elements who would be our friends. Witness the sharp comment of the traditionally friendly *La Prensa* on the recent Hull remarks. Nor must we forget the repercussions in other Latin American countries where our past record is at least partially responsible for the satisfaction over Argentina's standing up to the United States.

For the long pull there would now seem to be only two alternatives. The first would be to withdraw altogether from the affairs of the southern continent, regardless of our responsibility for much of their present unhappy course. That might be one way of forestalling growing disaffection. But things have gone too far. It would seem preferable to throw what influence we have behind genuine representatives of the people, confining our dealings with dictator governments to the formalities. To the objection that this would be meddling in other nations' internal affairs there are two answers: we are already meddling, with the most unfortunate results; in the second place, if dictator governments should try to rally opposition to the United States for aiding the truly representative elements, they would convince no one. In any case our present short-sighted policy should undergo drastic revision.

Divisive Forces

THE NATURAL DESIRE to be freed of war restrictions seems to be expanding in American business circles to include as many as possible of the government regulations of the past twelve years. A new version of "prosperity around the corner" is already making the rounds of executive offices. Without stopping to tot it up, the story now is that the cars, refrigerators and radios we have somehow managed without, plus the new products made possible by plastics and other scientific advances, will be ample to provide jobs for the displaced war workers and servicemen. This despite the fact that sober analyses of the whole prospect reveal a shortage of over ten million peacetime jobs.

That is the sad part about the tenor of current views on reconversion expressed by so many businessmen; there could hardly be a less opportune moment for attempting a return to *laissez faire*. Such is the real significance of the sentiments you can hear expressed everywhere today. That is the unfortunate note in the current resolutions of so many trade associations. That explains why Congress has so drastically pared down proposals for government assistance to workers and ex-servicemen in the difficult period of reconversion. This obstinate trust in the mirage of automatic postwar plenty and adequate employment actually serves as a divisive force, setting up workers against management in our democracy. And the blindness of so many business leaders at this juncture threatens to lead straight to a crisis and a conflict in which complete state control will be forced to provide the only possible solution.

Campaign Strategy

AS FAR as we can understand it, the strategy of the two major political parties in the present campaign boils down to this: the Democrats are largely relying on the war record and on labor and liberal support, without waging any explicit campaign; the Republicans are deliberately not emphasizing what they consider the paramount issue, "collectivism" *vs.* "free enterprise," and hence Mr. Dewey's public speeches consist very largely of pot-shots, each of them calculated to win a group of votes, but not all of them equally legitimate and certainly not all of them consistent with each other. Thus Mr. Dewey announces that he is in favor of preserving the peace, by force if necessary. At the same time he says that he intends to demobilize our armed force as quickly as he possibly can. The first of these proposals is very vague; the second sounds like sheer campaign oratory, for demobilizing several million men at the earliest possible moment would have an appalling effect upon our economy, and would be beyond the realm of possibility if you seriously intend to keep the peace by force.

All of this is unfortunate. There is a great deal legitimately to be said against the Roosevelt Administration, but Mr. Dewey is saying very little of it. Instead he is trying to gather votes by hook or by crook, and is making all the unfair and untrue criticisms along with the fair and the true. The consequence of Democratic silence and Republican pot-shotting is that the real controversy in our political life will be put off for another four years. Indeed the Republicans give no evidence of understanding what this controversy is. It is not black-and-white. It consists in determining how much collectivization (or socialization or centralization or government "interference") is essential and inevitable, and then determining the means whereby this movement of events may be prevented from destroying essential liberty and freedom. The pity of it is that to hope blindly for a restoration of what many Americans mean when they say "free enterprise" is to make virtually certain of an altogether undesirable and totalitarian collectivism in the end.

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Italian Distress

I KNOW how it is. The Italians win a war and talk as if they had lost it; they lose a war and talk as if they had won it. It is very aggravating. They win a war and complain so about their allies that presently they ally themselves to their enemies; they lose a war to the former allies who are now their enemies and complain bitterly because they are not immediately made the allies of the enemy by whom they have been defeated. They lose a war and they want Lend Lease from the enemy they have selected as soon as that enemy has defeated them and the time has come for the enemy to be their friend. Heads or tails. Heads I win, tails you lose. It's aggravating enough.

But only on paper, only because of the words, only because of the speeches. It is only because the style is wrong.

The Italian style is too close to the moment. So that something is said very persuasively but only for the temper and aims of the moment and then the moment, the circumstance, change and the Italians are left with all sorts of eloquent statements and styles which conflict. The fascists were very proud of what they called the fascist style, a style which of course they did not confine to literature. As, before them, d'Annunzio had been proud of his style and had gone to Fiume. After an Italian victory is was still possible to go to a place like Fiume in an attempt to perpetuate a style, and after the fascists came to power it was inevitable also, because of their style, that they should go to a place like Ethiopia, like Corfu, to a country like Spain, and then to a capital like Berlin, and then into all the places where they dragged their country to defeat. But when they were defeated the style was also among the things they lost. The Italians then had to find the words and the rhythms through which to express the facts of hunger, ruin and death. Such a style demands immense simplicity. It has been employed immediately by those Italians to whom it has always been natural, by those who never knew another style, who never used another style. (The village has been destroyed; the armies have advanced beyond the village; up the steep path to the village the inhabitants return and then, where the houses were, there will be people standing among the ruins not saying anything, with the dust all over them, and the children not playing.)

But that noble style has not been natural to, and has not been employed by, the Italian anti-fascists in this country. It is these people whom an American hears; he is not in the Italian village; he is not in the ruined cities of Italy, when he goes home from work he does not enter the dining room of the apartment in Rome and look at his wife and the children who pretend that they are not hungry tonight. He hears Salvemini saying that Americans have always been wrong and will always be wrong, that the State Department is stupid, that nobody knows anything about Italy and that anybody who knows anything about Italy knows that it is the Church's fault, the Pope's fault. An American is always being accused of something by the Italians in America who speak for Italy and it is hardly his fault if he thinks that they are as nationalist as the German exiles, and even more tactless. So that if it were not for the American reporters in Italy and for the photographs taken by American cameramen, and for the statistics (438 Roman children die out of 1000) brought to him by American officials, it would hardly be an American's fault if he looked only at the armies in the north and the promised victory.

But it is this way only because the wrong words have been said. If you look beyond the words it is not like this. If you take away the words and the style, the fascist, the anti-fascist style, then there are only the Italians, only the men, the women and the children who live in Italy, and it is a fact that they were miserable when their country was victorious at the end of the last war and that they are unutterably miserable now that their country is defeated in this war. The words, the justification, the arguments, the political shiftings of alliances humiliated the Italian people, but their misery does not humiliate them. We can escape all the arguments and be bored by them; we cannot escape the knowledge that the Italian people are suffering immeasurably.

At this moment that is what an American is obliged to think about. Deliberately. The armies are taking care of themselves; victory is taking care of itself; it requires no effort to think about the armies and about victory. It requires an effort to think about the Italian people. You have first to dismiss all the easy sarcasms; you have first to dismiss the victory we have obtained over the Italian armies and the Italian régime; you have to weigh what is important and what is more important. The capitulation of Italy was important; Americans died to obtain it; the present misery and despair of the Italian people are more important. There is no Italian problem except to alleviate misery and bring hope where there is despair. In the foreseeable future the Italians will not threaten any nation, nor will the Italian land be a source of wealth for foreign investment. Italy will not count in the balance of power. Italy can be forgotten. But if Italy is forgotten, then we can forget also about the peace and all that was sacrificed to reach the peace, because there will be no peace anywhere, ever, for those who have not forced open their minds and their hearts to the Italian distress.

C. G. PAULDING.

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The Voices of Russia

Helen Iswolsky

A GREAT deal of excellent material concerning Russia is being published in the United States. The Soviet Union is no longer the terra incognita of pre-war days. And yet the picture often remains blurred and incomplete, because something will always escape the most earnest scholar and the most unbiased observer as long as he attempts to speak *about* Russia, instead of letting Russia speak for herself. In all the available material either "pro" or "con," as Dr. Gurian recently put it in the pages of THE COMMONWEAL, we fail to discover something essential; the flesh and blood of a living organism, and more important still, breath of a living spirit. Let us try to listen to Russia as she speaks of herself and to herself.

It is a remarkable fact that during the three years of Russia's stand against Hitler, she has produced an almost overwhelming abundance of literary material which is a direct projection of what might be called Russian war-psychology. Most Soviet writers and even most Soviet poets have become war-correspondents or are in active service at the front. Others are engaged in historical research and are reviving national tradition through a series of novels and essays devoted to Russian heroes, rulers, military leaders and empire builders of long ago. The voice of Russia is heard in these historical works, which clearly and articulately express national dynamism; they are written in a constructive spirit and above all, they are devoted to the essential theme of Russian life throughout the ages—the defense of the fatherland against the invader. This is a spirit of self-preservation, not of greed, envy or aggression. In so far as the Soviet historical novel is centered on this theme of national defense and on the virtues which it required from the Russian people in the past, it also reflects the war-psychology of present-day Russia. The Soviet historian and the Soviet war-correspondent are somehow closely linked together.

It is interesting to note that both the historian and the war-correspondent in Russia today bear the stamp of one prevailing influence, that of Tolstoy, the Tolstoy of "War and Peace," the "Tales of Sevastopol" and "The Cossacks." Many a book on Peter the Great, Suvoroff or the generals and partisans who defended Russia against Napoleon, would not have been written today in Soviet Russia, had not "War and Peace" predetermined for many years to come the path of the Russian historical novel. The very fact that the Russian writer today still looks at history through the eyes of Tolstoy is extremely significant. It means that his horizon is wider than that of an ordinary chronicler, and that his interpretation of events is not restricted to that of the school text-book. It also means, that man as a spiritual being remains the important figure in a nation's growth, in spite of "historical materialism." Tolstoy's influence is no less strongly felt in the works of Soviet writers devoted to the present-day war. This influence is not only recognized, but stressed by Soviet critics. One of them relates in a recent article that two well-known Soviet authors, Paoustovsky and Kolossoff, leaving for the front, both packed in their soldier's kit a little volume entitled "Tales of Sevastopol."

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As we have said, most Soviet writers are depicting their war experience in works both literary and journalistic. The gifted Michael Sholokhoff, whose "Quiet flows the Don" has been translated in America, has published a new novel entitled "They Fought for Their Fatherland." And there is Constantine Simonoff, most beloved of Soviet writers. Though, from the strictly literary point of view, Simonoff's work is far inferior in quality to that of Sholokhoff, he is perhaps more representative of popular Russia today than is any other author. Simonoff's "Letter of a Red Soldier to His Friend," and his more recent poem, "Wait for Me," are read and recited throughout fighting Russia, in dugouts, barracks, camps and field-hospitals. "Wait for Me" is a lyrical equivalent of the American song "I'll Be Seeing You" but it is of a cruder texture. It expresses the simple love and faith of the fighting man and is one of the Russian voices rising above the din of battle. Here are a few lines from this poem:

Wait for me, and I'll come back,
But wait for me all the time,
Wait for me when autumn rains
Bring sadness to the world.
Wait for me under the snow
And in the summer heat,
Wait for me when no letters come
From far away lands.
Wait for me, when all have tired
Of waiting together,
Let son and mother believe
That I am no more,

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Let friends grow weary
And sitting by the fire
Let them drink the bitter wine
In memory of my soul.
But do not hasten to drink with them.
Wait for me and I'll come back
Those who did not wait will say
That I am a lucky fellow,
For those who did not wait for me
Will never know, that it was you
Who saved me in battle
Just by waiting for me.

Simonoff's short stories, plays and novels have the same simple, direct style as his poems. The sophisticated critic may question his art, but this writer knows his Russia well and loves her well. His latest novel, "Days and Nights," has achieved something which his former works still lacked: a seriousness, and pathos born out of true experience, war experience, human experience. Simonoff's "Days and Nights" are interesting not as a literary production, but because in this work, Russia does speak for herself. Here once more we hear the voices of the Russian people: some bold and courageous, some sad and even fearful, but all human and sincere.

There is Saburoff, who commanded a battalion fighting in the Stalingrad region during the darkest days of the siege. He looks at Stalingrad burning on the opposite bank of the Volga: the time is that of the blood, sweat and tears of a tragic retreat. Saburoff goes down to the Volga, and filling his helmet in the river, he drinks of its waters. And this simple gesture makes him know acutely all that the battle of Stalingrad stands for. "He was drinking the water from the Volga, and at the same time he was aware of the war that he was waging. Volga . . . War . . . these two ideas did not seem to fit in his mind. All his life, the Volga had been something which belonged to the very depths of Russia, something so completely Russian and only Russian, excluding the very idea of a foreign invasion, that the presence of the Germans on the opposite bank of the Volga appeared to him like a wild nightmare. . . ."

It was at that moment that Commander Saburoff understood that Stalingrad and the Volga would never be conquered by the invader. It was the feeling of *one* man, a lonely figure standing on the sandy shores of a great river. An American would feel the same about the Hudson or the Mississippi,—it is a feeling that is very personal and that has little to do with ready-made patriotic slogans.

★

In "Days and Nights," there is the girl, too, whom Saburoff meets on the Volga Ferry. She is a military nurse, who daily accompanies the wounded across the river. Her work is mostly performed under fire, and Saburoff asks her whether she is afraid. "I am not afraid when I take the men over," answers the girl, "but when we go back without them, then I am sometimes *frightened*. And do you know what I am afraid of? . . . Well, I am eighteen, and as yet, I have seen nothing, nothing. . . . I wanted to study, and have had no chance to study, I wanted to go to Moscow, and I have not been there, I have dreamt of love, and there has been no love. . . . I am afraid, that I shall die, and that my dreams will never come true. . . ."

Thus it is that in the turmoil of battle a little Russian girl helping to evacuate wounded soldiers under fire, still dreams of love and Moscow, as Tchekhoff's "three sisters" used to dream, a long, long time ago.

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The Russian press is full of stories devoted to the front and to the life in cities and villages which have been liberated. A great number of these stories deal with Stalingrad and Leningrad, the two great symbols of Russian resistance. Here too we find this spirit of a people awakened to national consciousness, regaining the deep sense of human and cultural values; with each ancient monument shelled by the Germans, with each museum or church destroyed by German vandalism, the spiritual significance of these landmarks have become more real and more essential. Journalists are describing palaces and ancient monasteries, pictures, picture galleries, famous libraries, ancestral homes of Russian poets and musicians, because they form a part of the national heritage, which the invader dared desecrate. They are like the waters of the Volga, things which could not be surrendered.

And now that the occupied territories are being liberated, Russia is putting her house in order. In Kiev, the famous cathedral of Saint Sophia, badly damaged by the Germans, has been already partly reconstructed. Describing this elaborate work, performed with the greatest care, the Soviet press recalls that this national sanctuary was created by Prince Yaroslav of Kiev in the eleventh century in commemoration of the defeat inflicted by the Russians on the nomad tribes of the Petchenegs, who invaded Russia at that time. And the newspapers list in detail the art-treasures destroyed or stolen from the Cathedral of Saint Sophia by the Germans.

"In Leningrad," writes Vera Ketlianskaya, a correspondent of *Pravda*, "reconstruction began even before the siege was actually lifted, it started under enemy fire and took the most unexpected forms. While German shells were still battering the city walls, special schools undertook the training of young craftsmen for the rebuilding and redecoration of Leningrad's damaged monuments. They even learned stucco work and the art of

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regilding. Streets were cleared and bricks salvaged from destroyed buildings. The factory workers who, during the siege, heroically stuck to their plants in a spirit of complete self-sacrifice, are now repairing their machinery, in order to speed production. Women are busily engaged in rebuilding houses, putting on new roofs, and are performing the various jobs of plumbers, painters and carpenters. All this is done without unnecessary bustle, quietly, with a deep sense of initiative and organization and with the warmth of enthusiasm which renders the most unusual and unpleasant job attractive."

During this new period of reconstruction, the Russian people are once more demonstrating their efficiency in team-work, which has accounted for their resistance in the firing lines and in their besieged cities. We have stressed more than once that this deep sense of solidarity is something implanted in the Russian soul and was for many centuries expressed in the ideology of the *Mir*. It is what the Russian religious thinker Federoff, who was a friend of Dostoievsky and Solovieff, called the "common task," which he considered Russia's special vocation.

And yet this "common task" performed in Russia during the war does not exclude personal initiative and the individual resolution to carry on. *Pravda's* correspondent, Vera Ketlianskaya, already quoted, relates a curious incident which took place in Leningrad. Visiting a young housewife soon after the liberation of the city, the journalist found her pulling out bricks from a walled in window. "This was my pill-box," she explained, "I built it with my own hands in the fall of 1941. I was decided not to leave my home and I was ready to fight the Germans if they broke into the city. And so I remained with the kids, and we saw it through in our fortress. This window looks southward, so it was the most exposed to enemy fire, but now I want the sun to come in, it is good for the kids. . . ." As she described her "fortress" the young woman begged the journalist not to disclose her name: "There is nothing to boast about, I did it for myself, for my own conscience."

The lone figure on the bank of the Volga, drinking water out of his helmet, the girl on the ferry dreaming of love and Moscow, the young woman in Leningrad walling herself in to see it through, all these are typical of Russia; all three have had their share in the "common task" and yet they have shared it as individuals, with sufferings, emotions, fears and hopes of their very own.

If Russia has a historical past to look back to, and a national goal to achieve in the present, she has above all preserved that which is most precious—the notion of an individual choice, something which is accomplished for the sake of ones own conscience, something which man decides when he is alone with himself.

London Commentary

J. L. BENVENISTI

FROM what I have heard, the flying bomb seems to have been discussed much more intelligently in America than it has in Britain. Perhaps we have been too near to these accursed things to view them with the necessary detachment. This is to be regretted, for a political situation has been created by this instrument and even more by the threatened rocket bomb, which is quite literally epoch making. This new political situation derives first of all from the possibility of concealment. No war has yet been embarked on without each side being able to make at least an intelligent guess at the strength of the other in any particular weapon. But this will not apply to these new devices. It will in all probability be possible for a power to leave the rest of the world completely in the dark as to the number and location of its launching sites, or of the projectiles which it is capable of dispatching from them in a comparatively brief space of time. Another consideration is that there does not seem to be any complete and final way of warding off this method of attack, except the physical occupation of the sites concerned and that takes time. It is often stated that every weapon calls forth a corresponding defense. But that is only true in a limited sense. When firearms were invented a new technique of defense was evolved, but that did not mean that firearms were rendered ineffective, and it did not stop firearms from changing the whole structure of society. I think much the same will apply to the flying bomb. I believe that that first strange flying fish with the luminous tail that I saw roaring over my roof was the harbinger of a new age, for it has made the whole present system of free and sovereign states unworkable. It is surely obvious that when two nations can suddenly more or less blow each other to bits in half an hour at a range of several thousand miles without either of them being able to do anything about it, or even to guess what the other has up its sleeve (that possibility may be a reality twenty years from now), then you have a situation in which the whole international order must either transform itself or perish.

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Shortly before D Day the British Government published a White Paper on Employment Policy. I rather think the timing was based on certain psychological considerations, and that the idea of boosting morale before the great attack was not completely absent. However, the Invasion acted as its own morale booster, and the White Paper attracted considerably less attention than it would otherwise have done. This is a pity, for the document is of the utmost importance. It is, I believe, the first occasion on which the government of one of the great democracies has formally declared that the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment is a definite duty of the State. Of course we have all been moving in this direction for some time, it is the explicit declaration that is of historic importance. The methods to be

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employed are the now well known Keynesian methods which are familiar to every student of economics. The essence of the matter is simply having a Public Works program ready on tap which can be switched on at short notice the moment that there is any sign of a drop in business confidence. This will enable private enterprise to maintain the momentum of economic activity in the ordinary way. The scheme has been very well received by Labor, but there has been one very interesting criticism from the extreme Left in the pages of the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* asks—very reasonably, in my view—whether public opinion is going to stand for works of high social utility, such as domestic building projects, suddenly being interrupted simply because a bunch of capitalists see the chance of making some money, and condemns the whole scheme because it considers the mere arising of such a situation to be intolerable. Now it seems to me that the *Tribune* has missed its own point, for it is quite right in its contention about public opinion, and it is precisely the introduction of the British Government's declared policy that will make public opinion much more alive to considerations of that kind than it ever was before. As long as a relative insecurity of employment is accepted as part of the normal order almost any activity appears justifiable as long as it creates jobs. If the building of luxury hotels means that the building trades can eat, then luxury hotels go up amid the plaudits of the multitude. But once a reasonable continuity of employment comes to be taken as much for granted as the provision of a clean water supply, or the protection of life and property by the police, then there will be a change of attitude. If under such circumstances the building of working class houses under a municipally financed housing scheme is suddenly interrupted because financial speculators have got bitten with the idea of cinema building, then people are going to ask questions which under different circumstances they would never have thought of asking, and there will be an outcry which grows louder and louder every time this thing happens. In other words, the more the maintenance of employment is recognized as a self-evident duty of the Government, the more people will reject the idea that mere employment is an end to itself and will enquire into the purpose which that employment serves. The fact is that this very sincere attempt by the British government to make capitalism work must inevitably lead to something like a Socialist conception of society in which need rather than profit is the determinant of economic activity. Why a Left Wing paper should object to that it is a little bit difficult to understand.

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British Socialists—and here again the *Tribune* is concerned—are showing an increasing chagrin that liberated Europeans, and in particular General de Gaulle's friends, show a perceptible lack of enthusiasm for freedom of speech and for freedom of the press. But the truth is that the British Socialist is much more a child of his own epoch and country than he realizes. He is much more of an Englishman than he realizes and much more a product of capitalist civilization than he realizes, and one can derive a certain sardonic pleasure from watching his reactions when Frenchmen firmly decline to be British nineteenth liberals. I do not think it is quite realized that several of our Allied battle cries have for the foreigner something of a parochial ring, and, if it be not disrespectful to say so, I think the Four Freedoms are much less inspiring to the foreigner than we suppose. Freedom from fear and freedom from want are certainly desired by everybody, though this desire is shared by man with all animal creation. Freedom of worship is vital, certainly, but means little to those who worship nothing in particular; while freedom of speech is applauded by most people merely because they attach their own special meaning to the phrase. The truth is that this phrase "freedom of speech" is part of a certain social atmosphere which is traditional with ourselves and against which the foreigner is often in revolt. It is the atmosphere of liberalistic capitalism with its strong emphasis on individual right and its belief that the fullest freedom of individual action works for the common good. That atmosphere is in many ways a very fruitful and excellent one, but it is no longer to the taste of most Europeans. Unfortunately, there is a danger that certain people may sincerely declare themselves supporters of free speech when they are really supporting something much more limited. They may merely be demanding freedom to criticize and ultimately destroy some one particular government which happens to be intolerable to them. They resent their inability to express themselves, not because freedom of speech is curtailed, but because the particular government in question happens to be intolerable. Once a tolerable government is instituted and has the approval of the majority it does not by any means follow that this approval will be extended to the right to criticize what the majority approves. In a word, everybody accepts free speech as a means to an end, but not everybody accepts it as an end in itself. It may be very perverse and wicked of them not to do so, but the fact is that they don't. This notion of free speech as an end in itself is a notion peculiar to one very brief period in Human history and to a limited geographical area.

Even within that time, and within that geographical area, it is doubtful whether this notion of free speech arouses quite as much enthusiasm as we pretend, for the real essence of this idea of the right of free speech means the right to utter, and the readiness to allow others to utter ideas that are dangerous and subversive. But the common man rarely has any dangerous ideas. In fact the truth is that he rarely has any ideas at all. He has many virtues, but only a restricted faculty for creative criticism. Indeed he probably does not really know what creative criticism is and consequently his conception of free speech is simply freedom to cuss out the boss, a very salutary occupation, no doubt, but not altogether the thing that President Roosevelt had in mind.

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One or two people have commented to me on my remarks in this paper concerning anti-Semitism in certain Catholic circles over here, and it has been suggested that

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I should furnish examples. I have, as a matter of fact, not compiled any kind of dossier of this kind of thing, since anything in the nature of journalistic muck-raking is not my line of business. However, the thing is so obvious, that I have no difficulty in the matter. Moreover, the principles involved are of very great importance. I have already said that the cruder forms of malice and abuse are eschewed, and that it's rather a case of implication and innuendo and of certain almost unconscious assumptions. I will give a case in point.

As I daresay you know there was recently a sort of minor incident here in which a number of Jewish soldiers in the Polish army deserted on the ground of alleged ill treatment, came to London and asked to be allowed to join the British forces. The thing was understandable enough. Nobody who has any knowledge of these matters will deny that anti-Semitism has been present in the Polish army, and no fairminded person will wish to deny that the Polish Government authorities recognize this and have done their sincere best to put a stop to it. But there was one Catholic paper for whom this simple explanation that the men were fed up appeared much too reasonable. The whole thing was a dark and sinister plot. It sent its best sleuth reporter after the story who unearthed, or professed to unearth, the fact that the deserting Jews had been liberally supplied with funds, that the whole thing was a trumped up affair and, by pretty clear implication, that it was the wicked Russians who had started it all with a view to discrediting the Polish Government. When I read this detective thriller I immediately asked the best informed source that I knew whether there was likely to be any truth in the story. I received a negative reply. However, I am not going to rush into denials as lightheartedly as other people rush into assertion. The Russians may have been behind it (I would not put it past them) and it is certainly not inconceivable that the Jews in question were supplied with money. There were lots of people who might have given them money—other Jews for instance. In a word, the conclusions which were arrived at may conceivably have been correct. Nevertheless the way they were arrived at was somewhat extraordinary. Let me quote the words of the reporter in question, for they reveal his attitude on the subject of Jews with an ingenuousness not wholly devoid of charm. Here is what he wrote:

"The background to the trouble is, as will be recalled, the use of offensive language, 'You dirty Jew,' predominating. . . . 'Surely' I asked, 'such language must not have been unknown in the previous history of the Polish forces. Why did it not cause desertions back in Poland, say, in the middle of the 30's? Why do they desert *now?*'" This is really magnificent. The habit of addressing Jews as "You dirty Jew" is admitted, but it is considered inexplicable that they should object to it even after arrival in the more liberal atmosphere of Britain, where this kind of conduct is not the custom of the country, unless wicked Bolsheviks had been goading them on and dangling money bags before their eyes, and the people who write in this way and publish this kind of thing have the effrontery to deny the imputation of anti-Semitism. Perhaps indeed this denial is the worst feature of the whole business. They seem to conceive of it as part of the natural and God-given order that the Jew should never be anything but ludicrous and contemptible. They are astonished if he objects to being referred to as "a dirty Jew." This is not only anti-Semitism; it is anti-Semitism of the very worst kind. It is the deliberate denial to the Jew of the normal dignity of a human being and so the denial of the elementary principles of the Christian ethic.

I was talking the other day to a friend on this very subject of anti-Semitism among Catholics and he gave me an explanation, which I am going to set down here, though whether it is a valid, let alone a full explanation, I hesitate to say. It went something as follows: "Catholics dislike Russia and want after this war to see a reconstituted Germany brought into an alignment which will, to some extent at any rate, be anti-Russian. However, there will be one considerable difficulty in 'selling' Germany to the rest of the world. The Jews are never going to forget what Germany has done to them. It is untrue that before Hitler the Jews were waging a secret war against Germany. It may not be wholly untrue after the war. Apart, moreover, from the Jews themselves, Germany's treatment of them will be a black mark against her throughout the world for generations to come. Now, it is quite obvious that in these circumstances anybody who wants to incline people favorably towards Germany after the war will have, in one way or another, to soft pedal this business of the Jews. There are several ways of doing this. One is to say that many of the reports have been exaggerated, which of course, is true. It would be inconceivable that a thing of this kind should not have occasional fictional embellishments at its fringes. The point that such people don't stress, is that such occasional exaggerations don't affect the matter. The known and irreducible truth is so appalling that no additions to it could affect the basic indictment. Another method is to point out that the great mass of Germans are quite ignorant of what is being done, though heaven knows enough has been done publicly and the expression of intention has been about as public as such a thing could possibly be. But the easiest way of all is to blame the Jews. Naturally people who take this line cannot actually openly condone what has been done. They can confine themselves to saying that though what has been done was utterly reprehensible, nevertheless an explosion of some kind was bound to occur because Jews are such unpleasant and difficult people, because—in a word—"there is a Jewish problem." As to the amount of truth in this explanation your guess is probably as good as mine. All I can do is to record the facts which it professes to explain. The facts are as stated by me.

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The growing feeling that the "Unconditional Surrender" formula is becoming increasingly unsuited to the needs of the situation has just found eloquent expression in the *Economist*. This paper very sensibly points out that though we may not wish to state what measures we

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shall take in the event of a German surrender, it would nevertheless be good policy to make public the measures we do *not* intend to take. Thus we would quite obviously be ready to give an undertaking that there was to be no wholesale castration of German males, or for that matter, of any German male. Yet immediately such an undertaking was given Germany's surrender would cease to be unconditional and the sacred formula would be invalidated. These arguments may sound fantastic from our side of the fence, since we take it for granted that the idea of castrating people would simply not occur to anybody. But the Germans, in the state of mind into which Goebbels has got them, are taking nothing for granted, and even if Goebbels has not told them this particular story, he is telling them others which are equally monstrous. The result is that anybody who advocates anything that even looks like surrender in Germany is working under the most appalling handicaps. Now the outstanding fact about the German situation at the moment is that there are quite definitely numbers of people who want peace and are willing to do some pretty violent things to get it. As the *Economist* more or less points out there really are at this moment two Germanies consisting, not of "good" and "bad" Germans, but of Germans who want peace and Germans who don't, and it is obviously to our interest to increase the number of the former as much as possible. To do this we need not necessarily hold out inducements, but we might well set about assuring the Germans by every device of propagandist iteration that we will not do those things to them which we have never dreamt of doing. The common sense of this course is so obvious that it may have been taken before these lines appear in print. On the other hand it may not. In that case a good purpose will be served by advocating it afresh.

Debate in the Senate

An account of what happened to two bills

Harry Lorin Binsse

IN C. E. M. JOAD'S "The Adventures of the Young Soldier in Search of the Better World," the Red-tape Worm, who represents a sort of Managerial Revolution with the bureaucracy as managers, remarks to the Young Soldier, "how, pray, do you explain the fact that sixty years ago, when only one Englishman out of four could read, it paid the papers to print verbatim reports of Parliamentary Debates? Now, after sixty years of popular education, when everybody can read, it is generally quite impossible to tell from reading the so-called popular Press, whether Parliament is sitting or not. It does not *look* as if education had increased popular interest in the workings of democracy."

The Red-tape Worm's remarks apply as well to this country as they do to England—allowing always for the touch of exaggeration needed to make such cynicism amusing. But one wonders whether part of the reason for the lack of interest in what goes on in Congress is not the form in which it goes on. Parliamentary procedure is a closed book to most citizens, and if ever they choose to peek between its covers, they are utterly bewildered. Moreover the record—as it appears in the *Congressional Record*—is beyond belief wordy and slow and long-drawn-out. It has become so much the practice to introduce great hunks of outside testimony—which, of course, is merely "introduced" into the printed journal, not read to the assembled legislature—that one feels as though one were entering into an endless wilderness of small type and tables and stimullants to boredom.

Last month a very important debate took place in the Senate of the United States. The point at issue was what our government proposes to do to help individual citizens of all kinds readjust themselves from their present war activities to the activities of peace. This debate was generally referred to as that on the George and the Murray-Kilgore Bills. The newspapers reported its results and a few of its highlights—they could do no more, for the printed record always comes a day late and extends to almost a quarter of a million words.

It is sad that the intricacies of legislative procedure in our day should interpose so complete a Chinese wall between what actually goes on in Congress and the men and women who elect the members of Congress. It is a sure bet that if this Chinese wall did not exist, the personnel of both houses would be very different from what it is. In the following paragraphs I shall make a bold attempt to boil down the essence of the debate on the George and Murray-Kilgore aspects of what the *Congressional Record* labels "War Mobilization and Post-War Adjustment." The debate has been terminated for some weeks now, and the outcome is known, though it is not yet final. But perhaps this *précis* will serve to make a few more Americans aware of what was at issue—

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something which I feel certain the newspapers in no way accomplished.

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On August 8, 1944, the Senate of the United States met to consider war mobilization and post-war adjustment. It had before it two measures, that emanating from the Finance Committee (Senator George) and that from the Military Affairs Committee (Senators Kilgore and Murray). At the very outset Senator Revercomb submitted the minority views of the Military Affairs Committee, whereupon Senator Murray introduced an amendment to his own bill suggested by James G. Patton of the Farmers Union. This amendment "aims at eliminating business depression by authorizing the Government to invest and spend 'the amount by which prospective private investment and construction expenditures in each year fall short of $40,000,0000,000, the annual volume required to maintain full employment.'"

It was accompanied with the printing in the *Record* of a long statement by Mr. Patton in support of his suggestion. Senator Chavez then produced some amendments of his own. Both the Patton and the Chavez amendments were tabled, and after a few preliminary mumbles, the Senate got down to business.

> Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 2051.
>
> The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.
>
> The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 2051) to amend the Social Security Act as amended.
>
> The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Georgia.
>
> The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2051) to amend the Social Security Act, as amended, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance, with amendment.
>
> Mr. GEORGE obtained the floor.

Senator George proceeded to give the gist of his bill. He placed is squarely upon a principle: "After careful consideration the committee reached the conclusion that at this time, at least, and on principle, it was unwise to interfere with the existing State systems" of unemployment compensation. He then went on to explain what classes of workers were not covered by the State systems or otherwise, the largest of them being civilian employees of the Federal Government. "Provision is made in the bill to cover all civilian Federal employees. Provision is also made for the payment out of the Federal Treasury of any burden thrown upon the State administrations on this account, because the Federal employees have no credits under the existing social-security law."

The Senator from Georgia then paraphrased the second main provision of his bill: "The bill sets up a revolving loan fund to be supplied by Federal appropriation, of course, for the protection of the unemployment-compensation funds of the several States, so as to give to the States—as we hope—an increasing confidence in the further extension of their own systems, within their own judgments."

That was the whole substance of the unamended George Bill.

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Senator Davis then introduced a letter from Mr. William Green, President of the AFL, which was read to the Senate.

> Dear Senator: Favorable and early action in the Kilgore-Truman-Murray bill is of vital importance to the A. F. of L. as well as all other citizens' organizations. We should appreciate the help of our friends and friends of our democratic institutions in enacting this bill into law.
>
> Your willingness to submit to the Senate the enclosed statement of the position of the A. F. of L. on the pending legislation providing for reconversion is a service that I appreciate fully.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> Wm. Green,
> President, American Federation of Labor.

This letter was accompanied by a long statement amplifying the AFL position on the steps the Government should take to keep up the national income—a statement which admirably served Senator Murray as a springboard from which to introduce his amendment to the George Bill—an amendment which in effect added the Murray-Kilgore Bill to the George Bill, so that if his amendment were passed, the principles of the more generous bill would automatically take effect. The Senator went on to explain the highly technical matter he had offered in amendment:

> Mr. President, instead of reading the lengthy amendment in full I should like to summarize it in a few sentences.
>
> Title I sets forth the objectives: To facilitate maximum war production; to expedite the transition from war to peace; to achieve full employment and rising standards of living; and to provide for the development of unified plans and adequate machinery to achieve those objectives. Title I would establish the office of war mobilization and adjustment, to be headed by a director. . . .
>
> Title II directs the Chairman of the War Production Board to establish a production adjustment committee, which shall consist primarily of the representatives of the procurement agencies. The same title, furthermore, sets forth specific policies to be followed by the agencies in cutting back war production and resuming civilian production.
>
> Title III would create the retraining and reemployment administration, to be headed by a work administrator, who is to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.
>
> The principal feature of the proposal is that it provides for unemployment benefits to servicemen and civilians from $20 to $35, depending upon the number of dependents. . . .
>
> Title V, entitled "Housing and Public Works," directs the Administrator of the National Housing Agency to survey national housing needs and develop programs for such needs through private housing and through research and technical assistance given to private housing.
>
> It further authorizes the Federal Works Administrator to make loans to State and local governments for the

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purpose of allowing them to draw up plans for public works. This provision, however, does not commit the Federal Government to the carrying out of such plans.

That was the substance of the Murray-Kilgore Bill, offered as an amendment to the George Bill. It was frankly based on the desire to keep up purchasing power by high unemployment compensation, over extended periods, as compared to the various low state maxima limited to short periods.

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Senator Murray centered his advocacy of his own measure on the inadequacy of the State compensation systems, which in case of large and prolonged unemployment would, he claimed, lead at once to relief lines and doles and a depression of unexampled proportions. He introduced complex tables to show the essential elements of the various state laws, the most generous of which (Connecticut) provides only a maximum of $22 per week for a maximum of 18 weeks. (His own bill provided a maximum of $35 per week for a maximum of 2 years after the end of the war.)

He introduced statements made before his committee by witnesses who insisted upon the necessity of preserving a high national purchasing power. Matthew Woll (AFL), John Fennelly (Committee for Economic Development), James G. Patton (Farmers Union), Alvin Hansen, Maury Maverick. He insisted upon the special nature of unemployment compensation. "The stakes at issue here are the jobs of 50,000,000 American men and women."

Senators Wagner and Kilgore then spoke for the bill. Said the latter:

> We cannot delude ourselves with the thought that a little unemployment—a few thousand in this community, 50,000 in another community, and 100,000 in a third—will not wreck the Nation. Unemployment is a contagion which must be stamped out, for it spreads through the Nation from end to end. Depression and unemployment develop. They do not just spring up. They develop in arithmetical progression. From one group of unemployed we go to a much larger group of unemployed. Let no one say to himself that a little unemployment will help us back to normalcy. I have heard that argument too many times. On the streets of Washington and in the hotels I have heard the statement made that we need about 20,000,000 unemployed persons in the United States. There is no such thing as a little unemployment. . . .
>
> The State systems are not designed to deal with a situation in which 20,000,000 war workers and 12,000,000 ex-servicemen must find new employment. Let no one think for a moment that the airplane plants of the United States will continue on the basis of 100,000 planes a year. They cannot do so. The skies are rather large, but the investors are smaller than the skies, and they cannot buy that many planes. . . .

And then, at the end of the first day's session, Senator George offered an amendment to the Murray-Kilgore amendment of his bill. This accepted the substance of their scheme for an Office and Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, but giving him less power. And the same Senator gave an estimate of the cost of the Murray-Kilgore Bill as ten billion dollars.

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The next day's debate opened with an attack on the Murray-Kilgore Bill by Senator Revercomb. Here is the nub of his argument:

> But we must not under color of helping the unemployed, establish a new idea or form of government; and we must not under the cloak of helping the unemployed, establish a system of government which has never found its way into American life. Nor must we use unemployment, Mr. President, for the purpose of establishing the idea that those who can support themselves may look to the Government for support. Nor must we enact a law which will induce some persons to remain unemployed. . . .
>
> No official ever had the right to make such placement of workers as is being attempted to be given to the Work Administrator in the pending bill. . . .
>
> The bill also provides—and it is an unusual power to be granted to any official of the Government—that without any limit and without any restraint upon him the Work Administrator may give vocational training to "any person" for 6 months at Government expense. . . .
>
> I wish to say to you, Mr. President, that this proposed Federal set-up constitutes a most dangerous far-reaching effort to regiment, if I may employ that much-used word, the workers of this country. . . .
>
> On the one hand, we have the doctrine propounded by Jefferson and other early founding fathers that the best government is one which governs the least, and is left closest to the people within the States, and within their local governments. On the other hand, we have those who may believe that we must tax, spend, and regulate. Between those extremes there is no ground for compromise. The pending proposal presumably represents the ideas of the class that is in favor of taxing, spending and regulating.

During Senator Revercomb's speech occurred an incident of which something was made in the Press, and which aroused bad temper in the Senate Chamber. A certain Dr. Herbert Schimmel, acting chief clerk of the Kilgore War Mobilization Subcommittee, on loan from WPB, whispered to the presiding officer. At once the minority whip (Senator Wherry) made a "parliamentary inquiry."

> Mr. WHERRY. I should like to know under what rules or by what privilege a person who is not a Member of the Senate has the right to address the Presiding Officer at this time. I should like to have the rule cited.
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. The present occupant of the chair understands that no one has access to the floor of the Senate except Senators and the secretaries of Senators.
>
> Mr. WHERRY. Further, with reference to the gentleman who but a few moments ago was seen speaking to the Chair, I should like to ask whose secretary he is and what right he has to talk with the one who is now presiding over the Senate.

The excitement arose from the fact that Schimmel is closely associated with the CIO's Political

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Action Committee, and had been heard to claim he wrote the Murray-Kilgore Bill.

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Senator Vandenburg spoke in favor of the George Bill, on the ground that the state unemployment compensation systems are successful and time-tried, and the new proposal unduly centralized, and counter to states' rights. He spoke of high unemployment compensation as an incentive to idleness:

> How long, Mr. President, can an economy survive in which idleness, in any substantial sector of our population or in any substantial degree, pays substantially as well as industry? How long will one worker who toils all week at his bench be content to watch his neighbor receive practically equal pay for going fishing? How can we as Senators say that we are planning to restore post-war America to firm and solid foundations if we here and now hamstring our national economy with any such unnatural conception?
>
> American business, American private enterprise, and American free enterprise, must have a chance to succeed or we are sunk—all of us, both managers and men—and the world's hope of all the ages dies.

He also spoke of the "Tremendous, Nation-wide bureaucracy" which the Murray-Kilgore Bill would require. And he concluded with what might well stand as the opposition case of all those favoring the George Bill:

> First. It will destroy for keeps the great progressive movement in the further development of State unemployment compensation funds where labor has its greatest stake.
>
> Second. It will create a new Federal control and centralization, which will become another and a permanent labor tyranny;
>
> Third. It will threaten the sound economy which is prerequisite to post-war prosperity and post-war jobs in the United States.
>
> Fifth. For these reasons it offers nothing but hazards to the long-range welfare of the workers of America and to the swift establishment of business in America upon the accelerated basis which is indispensable to our post-war lives. I do not believe the best interests of American workers can thus be served.

★

Senator Murray then inserted and explained a large number of "clarifying modifications" for his original bill-amendment. He again pointed to the insufficiency of state unemployment compensation, and pointed to the provision in the tax law which amply provides for compensation to industry in case of a post-war slump.

> If business conditions should decline when war contracts are drastically terminated, the corporations of America may get back from the United States Treasury, in tax concessions, the sum total of all normal taxes and excess profits taxes paid during the previous 2 years.
>
> It has been officially estimated that the total amount of corporation taxes collected in 1943 and 1944 will be $28,000,000,000. Mr. President, this means that the Government of the United States may be called upon to hand out out to American corporations $28,000,000,000.
>
> I am informed by the Treasury Department that the method of computing how much shall be returned to each corporation is exceedingly generous. While the precise formula is rather complicated, it boils down to this: Our corporations can be repaid their previous 2 years of tax payments at the rate of 81 cents on every dollar of decline in income and on every dollar of loss.

The session ended with an amendment offered by Senator O'Mahoney in the interests of little business, which was accepted by Senator Murray.

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On Thursday, August 10, proceedings began with messages from the American Legion and various State Unemployment Commission officials, opposing the Murray-Kilgore Bill, after which Senator Taft launched into his attack on that measure. He found in it a berth for Sidney Hillman, a new NRA, a new and bigger NYA. "Mr. President, the Murray-Kilgore Bill violates every principle of sound government in the post-war era. In the first place, it suppresses local self-government. . . . In the second place, it delegates complete legislative power. . . . In the third place, it would destroy individual liberty. . . . Finally, it proposes unlimited spending."

Senator Pepper jumped to the defense. "Many of us have had to make a choice between property rights and human rights. Any man who sits in the Senate must make that decision many times . . ." Not only are the state systems inadequate, they cannot be made adequate in time, since state legislatures meet infrequently.

> My God, Mr. President, when will all areas of this country be emancipated; when will they become wholly American, and when will we legislate for the Nation and not, with caution and with timid reserve, about certain areas and sections of the country that need most the strong arm of the Nation's assistance?

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Then came a very sensible suggestion — a motion to recommit from Senator Aiken:

> I cannot vote for either bill now before the Senate as it is at present written. I believe that a bill can be written which would be fair to all groups, and which would take care of the situation for agriculture as well as for industry and labor. For that reason I move that the two bills now under consideration be recommitted to the respective committees from which they were reported, so that those committees may bring forth a real American plan which will be fair to all groups in our Nation, and which the Congress can safely approve.

The motion was rejected.

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Upon which Senator Bob Reynolds supported the bill in his usual tone, and Senator Kilgore took the floor. Things droned on. A quorum was

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asked. Senators wanted a recess. But Senator George would have none of it—the debate must continue. Mr. Kilgore completed his remarks, which were intended to show that $35 per week is no caviar and champagne budget (as Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* described it) but merely equals the minimum cost of maintaining a family of four persons, as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

★

Next day Senator Kilgore still had the floor. He developed at length the implications of the carry-back, carry-forward provisions in the tax laws, and Senator Downey remarked that the amount available for refund from the Federal Treasury, 18 months from now, would be not twenty-eight but forty billion dollars.

Senator Tydings (on the score that it would cost too much), Senator Capper (introducing a letter of opposition from the Farm Bureau Federation), Senator Austin (on the grounds of expense and regimentation) spoke against the bill.

Senators Downey and Tunnel spoke in support, the latter pointing directly to big business as opposing the measure. Senator Maloney made a motion to recommit. It was strongly opposed, and after spirited debate was defeated 14-59.

Senators began to cry out: "Vote, vote, vote."

At last the George amendment to the Murray-Kilgore amendment came up for the yeas and nays. It was adopted 49-25, thus throwing out the Murray-Kilgore Bill and leaving only the vote on the original George Bill, as amended by himself to include an Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. There followed a series of new amendments, all of them rejected, including one by Senator Reynolds proposing the suspension of all immigration, and one "seeing to it that no Communists or Nazis or Fascists shall be officers or members" of labor unions.

Again Senators began calling out, "Vote!"

The George Bill, as amended by Senator George, was put to a vote and passed 55-19.

Communications

A NOTE ON SINARQUISM

Des Moines, Ia.

TO the Editors: It is very refreshing to have Mr. Skillin admit that his original "Note on Sinarquism" contained some "minor inaccuracies" (1910 for 1857), "some loose translations" (National Catholic Party for *Accion National*), and was "not letter perfect" (the lie that José Antonio Urquiza served in Franco's army), etc.

Mr. Skillin led us to believe that his sources were "unimpeachable." We challenge him again to get the truth on José Antonio and his service in Franco's army. We want an investigation, we want facts, and not a squirming out by saying: "It was not important anyway." It was a lie. *That is important.*

If Mr. Skillin's "as little biased as possible sources" have proven to be not only biased, but scoundrelly defamatory on one specific point, how can Mr. Skillin swallow the rest of their line without checking on the veracity of every statement they handed out to him? The challenge stands—Mr. Skillin's informers must make good on every point, or they are liars.

Mr. Skillin mentions "first hand evidence I have seen." I dabbled in the study of law once upon a time. It would be well for Mr. Skillin to ask a lawyer for a book on "Evidence" and get the definition of "first hand evidence."

Has Mr. Skillin been in Mexico lately? How many leaders of Sinarquism has he interviewed? Has he attended their meetings? And, by the way, do Sinarquists wear special shirts or arm bands? (Did Mr. Skillin see the cute picture of the Eton boys, toppers and all, giving the Sinarquist salute?)

In the days when milk was delivered by the pint or quart with a dipper from a large can, a group of women complained that they were not getting a full quart. The milkman came to court with his dipper and triumphantly proved that he did deliver a full dipper, but Solomon, the judge, said: "The question is, Sir Milkman, does your dipper measure up to a full quart?" And that is our question to Mr. Skillin.

Mr. Skillin condemns secrecy in Sinarquism and he uses secrecy himself. The question of the morality of secrecy is an important one. Would Mr. Skillin allow secrecy in the underground of the occupied countries? Against an unjust totalitarian government a certain type of secrecy is absolutely necessary, allowable and praiseworthy. Did not our founding fathers use it? Do we not advocate it now?

THE COMMONWEAL has been in the habit of dishing out good, fresh stuff. Mr. Skillin's "Note on Sinarquism" rehashed old stuff and now he blames some of us for accusing him of plagiarism. Mr. Skillin says that he did not steal from *The Nation, The New Republic,* or Don Newton, etc. He tells us that he did not even read these articles. That is a strange journalistic practice to take pride in! If he intended to write an authoritative article on Sinarquism, why did he not examine all the available material on the subject? We, the friends of THE COMMONWEAL, are not used to getting old tripe from its editors.

Mr. Skillin apparently discards the testimony of sixteen Mexican Bishops as immaterial, irrelevant and not pertaining to the question. Yet, while refusing this bit of Catholic evidence, he seeks to bolster up his "cryptic statements" on the attempted assassination of Avila Camacho from "Catholic sources." We objected to his statements on the subject because they were misleading and ambiguous. They are still the same, and he owes the readers the straight dope on the question. Were the Sinarquistas responsible for the attempted assassination? Let's have the answer yes or no.

Mr. Skillin still clings to the use of "trick logic" by quoting from *Orden* "that blood and suffering will bring

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us victory." Does Mr. Skillin want the readers to think that the Sinarquistas are the ones who will kill?

We challenge Mr. Skillin and his informers to give the names (place and date) of any one who has been killed by the Sinarquistas. We can furnish over a hundred names of Sinarquistas who have been martyred already without striking back. Who is violent? Who is bloodthirsty? Are the killings of Sinarquistas justified? Mr. Skillin seems to defend the continuation of murders.

The most naïve statement in Mr. Skillin's reply is this: "The Sinarquistas openly aspire to taking over in Mexico." Is it wrong for the Republicans to aspire to take over in the United States? If Mr. Skillin objects to their aspirations, he must be a believer in a one party system of government. That is fascism, naziism, communism. Mr. Skillin adds "yet they refuse normal political means." *Is Mr. Skillin so ignorant of the Mexican situation?* He certainly should know by now that such means do not exist in Mexico.

Of course there are dangers in Sinarquism. We are not, however, discussing the future possibilities. We are discussing its *raison d'être,* its aims, its methods of achieving these aims, here and now. Why not present to the readers of THE COMMONWEAL a translation of the sixteen basic points of Sinarquism and the ten rules of conduct for men and women?* Perhaps a comparison with methods and organization in the planning of the 1810 Mexican revolution or 1776 American counterpart would be enlightening.

Betty Kirk in her review of "Sunburst" says: "So in Mexico today we have Sinarquism sweeping the land, a new revolt of the Masses against corruption and exploitation." Are we to believe that Mr. Skillin is on the side of "corruption and exploitation" in Mexico? And if he is not, but still objects to Sinarquism, how about suggesting a pattern for setting up Democracy in Mexico? Let's be positive.

RIGHT REVEREND LUIGI LIGUTTI.

A REPLY

THE FIRST thing that I must say in reply to Monsignor Ligutti's current letter is to refer him and COMMONWEAL readers to the original article which appeared in the June 9 issue, and to my original reply to his objections in the July 28 issue. These provide answers to many of his current objections, but I should like to answer the principal ones forthwith.

1) I must repeat that I do not consider it a defamation of character to maintain that José Antonio served in Franco's army. Ever since that statement has been questioned, however, we have tried to secure confirmation or denial of it from Mexico and have not succeeded to

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*THE 16 BASIC PRINCIPLES: "1. We consider to be criminal and cowardly the defeatism of those who believe resurgence of our country to be impossible or who look for the salvation of Mexico from without. We Sinarquistas proclaim that the Nation will be saved when we triumph over our own cowardice and decide to be full-fledged citizens fulfilling all our rights and duties. 2. We believe in the destiny of Mexico, and that our efforts will result in uniting the Nation, strengthening it and adding to its dignity. We shall work to bring it about that every Mexican has an active part in our movement which is to save Mexico. 3. We demand true unity for the Mexican community and the subordination of private or class interests to the supreme interest: that of the Nation. 4. We condemn the communist tendency which claims to merge all countries into one single universal republic. We shall sustain our unshakable nationalist position and defend the independence of Mexico. 5. We repudiate the unpatriotic and tendentious classification which divides Mexicans into 'leftists,' 'rightists,' 'revolutionaries' and 'reactionaries.' Mexico requires for her salvation the permanent union of all her sons and sets up only one principle of division: Mexicans and anti-Mexicans. 6. We reject every symbol foreign to our nationality. No cross of nazism; no red star of the communists. Mexico has a symbol and he who does not defend it is a traitor. 7. We affirm the right of private property and demand the creation of social conditions that make possible for all workers easy access to it. To the communist's slogan: 'every man a proletarian,' we oppose our own: 'every man a property owner.' 8. We protest against the injustice of social conditions under which great numbers of men live in shacks and some few in palaces. We consider that the evil is not private property itself, but that it comes from the fact that some few hold and abuse it, while the majority lack what is indispensable for their very sustenance. 9. We shall strive to bring about an abundant production of goods in Mexico, and demand a just and equitable distribution of these goods. We demand absolute respect for the product of labor and a guarantee for capital which is justly accumulated, and which must be adapted to the exigencies and needs of the Mexican community, undergoing whatever restrictions the national well-being requires. 10. We condemn the class struggle which, besides disorganizing the nation, renders her economy barren. We urge the union of capital and labor so that in frank and close collaboration and within the extensive sphere of social justice they will realize their creative work for the good of Mexico. 11. We do not admit the exploitation of one social class by another: we propose both to capital and to labor, which are today motivated by petty materialism, an ideal: that of the betterment of the Mexican community and the aggrandizement of the Nation. 12. We fight for a Mexico free of foreign tutelage and free within. We consider that liberty is the only condition suitable for the life of man and we reject every tyranny. 13. We demand for Mexico her true political and economic independence as a guarantee of the true liberty of every Mexican. But in order that Mexico be able to impose her liberty on the other nations there is needed the joint, valiant, constant and generous action of all her sons, disposed to demand and win for their nation honor and respect. 14. We condemn the violation of the natural liberties of man of which the dictatorships are guilty, and oppose those who seek to enslave souls. We are ardent defenders of liberty but we declare ourselves enemies of license, which is the cause of anarchy and disorder and is contrary to the authority and social order which Sinarquism demands. 15. We repudiate the State which does not intervene and serves only as a guardian of individual egoisms. We also reject the tyranny of despotic states which in the all-embracing intervention of their governing authorities, absorb individual activities, enslave wills and kill all private initiative. 16. We desire for Mexico a just, strong and respectable government, which, conscious that its service to the people is the only reason for its power, confines its action within the limits fixed by the common good of the Mexican people."

Norms of Conduct for Sinarquistas: "1. Hate an easy and comfortable mode of life. We have no right to it while Mexico is in adversity. Love difficulties, danger and death. 2. Do not expect our struggle to be calm and tranquil. Accept persecution and crime as natural aspects of our warfare. Do not lose your serenity or happiness when the storm is raging. 3. Do not expect payment or reward for yourself, either. We Sinarquists are working for God and for Mexico. Do not be disheartened because the others cannot appreciate your efforts; do not be filled with a desire for praise either. 4. Control all

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this date. There is some reason to believe that our repeated inquiries have not gotten through the Mexican censorship or that the replies have been stopped on the way back. Monsignor Ligutti and one or two others seem so sure that this is a misstatement of fact that in the absence of further evidence to substantiate me on this one point, I am perfectly willing to accept as a fact that José Antonio did not so serve.

2) No accepted rules of evidence, however, maintain that because one detail—and a minor one at that—is erroneous, the remainder of a body of evidence should be disqualified.

3) I am only too happy to tell Monsignor Ligutti and all interested readers that by "first hand evidence" I mean material published by the Mexican Sinarquists themselves—booklets as well as issues of their two lately suppressed official organs. We accept Monsignor Ligutti's challenge and append herewith the "sixteen basic points" and "ten rules of conduct" for men and for women.*

4) Certainly the question of secrecy is a delicate one. Under many circumstances it is a legitimate and necessary weapon. Yet there are occasions when secrecy, especially if it is imposed from above rather than left to the discretion of the individual, can become an evil on the political level. The Church has recognized this in its condemnation of Masonry. Each case must be judged on the basis of

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your passions if you really wish Mexico to be saved. Keep within bounds pride, anger, envy, all vices. In that your true manhood and strength will consist. 5. See to it that your private life be unassailable. Let the example of your conduct be a confirmation of the doctrine that you preach. If you fail in your moral duties you have no right to call yourself a Sinarquist. 6. Have confidence that the most insignificant of your actions will bear fruit if you have the right intention. In Sinarquism not even the most humble effort will be lost. 7. Never criticize your leaders. Treat your fellow members as brothers. Do not seek quarrels with the enemy; your duty is to attract him to our ranks. 8. You must have a profound belief in our triumph. Understand that this struggle cannot fail and that blood and suffering will give us the victory. If you do not believe that Sinarquism is a movement destined to save Mexico you cannot be a Sinarquist. 9. Never doubt your strength. Undertake the most difficult task with the confidence that you will triumph. Have confidence in yourself and in the men who fight at your side. 10. If you seem small, incapable and weak, regain all your strength by realizing that God is with you and will never abandon you if you have implicit confidence in Him."

Norms of Conduct for the Sinarquist Woman: "1. Above love of father, husband, son and brother place love of Mexico. Above love of country there is only one greater love: God. 2. Battle stations are not for you; but your duty is to urge forward and persuade men to take part in the struggle, even though you see danger in it. 3. Choose [for a husband] only the best of men. Be his able helpmate, aiding him in Mexico's hard task. 4. When you can, cultivate in the hearts of husband and children a great love of country. 5. Do not betray your beautiful destiny as a woman by undertaking the tasks of men. 6. Ever remember that Sinarquism means brotherhood. Render aid to all those who suffer and are in need, whatever aid you can give them. 7. Undertake assignments without thought of self. 8. Willingly accept the task that is imposed on you and execute it gladly and with good will. 9. Do not rest until all of yours take part in the Sinarquist movement. Do not protect cowardice nor consent to lassitude. 10. Pray to God for us who are fighting and think of a Nation new and free. Long live Mexico!" (*Orden*, June 1944)

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whether the secrecy enjoined is a necessity for survival or whether it is a calculated policy open to abuse and misuse in the interests of those who enjoin it. In the case of the Founding Fathers, we must remember that they were engaged in a war. Prior to that war systematic secrecy had indeed existed through the network of Masonic Lodges. But it never assumed the form of those in-the-secret's not knowing who their leaders were, or not *having the right to exercise personal discretion in discussing* political matters.

5) I disagree with Monsignor Ligutti about reading those articles in the *Nation* and the *New Republic;* in fact I am rather disappointed that he takes on so at being wrong about them. Since when has it been "strange journalistic practice" to base one's findings on material that is objective, or first hand, rather than seek the conclusions of those likely to be highly prejudiced in a matter? The point is that the article was based on data in which we have good reason to have confidence.

6) The article reported the rumors as to the attempted assassination of President Camacho since they had considerable currency at the time, but we went on to express our own opinion very clearly: that the attempt sprang from a personal grievance.

7) History shows, particularly where political passions are aroused as they are in Mexico, that the use of such phrases as "blood and suffering" actually serves to inflame both sides. There have been a number of reports lately about violence and bloodshed at the hands of certain Sinarquist groups. Since we have not been able to verify these reports we have not, and do not offer them in evidence.

8) One has only to consider the difference between the taking over of the government by the Calles régime in Mexico and a change of administration in this country to realize that there is no particular point to Monsignor Ligutti's remark about the Republicans. The original article clearly recognized the obstacles to normal political action in Mexico, but even so that does not necessarily commend a movement which instructs its members to refuse to have any recourse to the ballot or other normal political means. How *do* the Sinarquists propose to come into power?

9) From the tone of the original article and my remarks about the Camacho régime, it can readily be seen that I am not in favor of "corruption and exploitation" in Mexico. My reservations about Sinarquism, in fact, derive from the fear that this highly centralized movement could *produce merely a new brand of the same exploitation and* corruption.

EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

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The Stage & Screen

Last Stop

SOMEWHERE during the rehearsals of this *collapso,* it seems to me it should have occurred to someone to swing it, burlesque the entire business, and thereby earn a little honest hilarity. It is not that any play set in an Old Ladies' Home—and peopled by an incessant series of female ancients whose combined ages must indeed have reached to a blue moon and back again—should be inevitably dreary; it is simply that Irving Kaye Davis's writing and Irwin Piscator's direction are so severally silly, one finds it impossible to consider the piece with moderation. It is, of course, complicated in the extreme. With everyone present a grandmother twelve times, a great-grandmother as often, and a great-great-grandmother more than intermittently, we are still asked to concern ourselves with an anterior generation: the mysteriously murdered father of one of the inmates, the subsequent disappearance of a large sum of mortgage money, and the resolution of justice (financal and moral) in the long long long long run. It goes without saying that the single spinster is the gorgon of the works. All this fuss in combination with what I can only call the architectural method of playwrighting, whereby windows are placed for what goes on outside them; and the stairs and doorways of the scene lead offstage to its major motions. An arena for misplaced laughter, Sam Leve's scrupulous seting could not, admittedly, save the play.

Although employing a round number of the most experienced and skilled veterans of the street, Mr. Piscator has cast and controlled abominably: the tone and tempo—even quality of voice—of every character being precisely alike, and the seldom parenthetical young people equally dominated by monotony. The exception to the error was Grace Valentine in the loud rôle of an Irish Indomitable; and I feel it is vastly to Miss Valentine's credit that she appeared able to withstand the direction. Enid Markey also contributed a steadily incisive quality of her own. What has happened to Catharine Doucet's diction I cannot imagine, but hers was by all odds the most enraged and incomprehensible reading I have lately heard. And considering her part, I could almost agree. I wish they had laughed it off, on-stage as well as in the house. (*At the Ethel Barrymore.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

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Gary and Cary

THERE USED to be a lot of people (and there still may be some, for all I know; at least I don't run across them any more) who get the names of Gary Cooper and Cary Grant mixed up. Not their personalities, mind you; just their names. Perhaps it was the rhythm of their first names and the combinations of the *C*'s and *G*'s that confused these people. In any case film fans, who always take their stars seriously, remember that Gary Cooper is the tall lean one with the weather-beaten face and the home-spun charm; he specializes in honest, good-humored but very manly cowboys like The Virginian, or naïve, simple and rather boyish comic generalities like Sergeant York, Mr. Deeds and Joe Doe. His characterizations are usually pretty much the same; and both men and women find them definitely attractive. Cary Grant has a large following too. He's the tall, handsome one with large brown eyes, wavy black hair and a charming Irish smile—all of which he has used to good advantage in sophisticated comedies with Irene Dunne and Katharine Hepburn. He has shown a little more versatility in his rôles than Cooper; besides his drawing room characterizations, he has played good, manly heroes in "Gunga Din" and "Destination Tokyo" and naughty boys with calculated appeal in "Suspicion" and "Mr. Lucky." Anyone wanting to make a further study of these two personable males can do so in two new pictures in which they play leading rôles that are typical of their repertoires.

In *"Casanova Brown,"* Gary Cooper continues the rather blustering, shy professor type that he did so well in "Ball of Fire." Although he seems too ill at ease for a professor of literature and looks older than a man who gives his birth year as 1907, Cas Brown is subjected to quite a shock and has a right to appear harassed and embarrassed. On the eve of his marriage to an attractive girl (Anita Louise) in Rushmore, Illinois, he discovers he has just become a father in Chicago. When Cas learns that his first wife (Teresa Wright) whose family had had their marriage annulled, is going to give the baby away for adoption, he kidnaps the child and tries to care for her himself in a hotel room. This provides excellent opportunity for Gary Cooper to be as awkward and coy as possible. He runs the gamut. However, for cuteness in this picture, Gary is outsmarted only by the baby in question who won even the hard-hearted critics' admiration in the finale when Gary shows Teresa how to make a young un burp after feeding. Director Sam Wood seemed satisfied to let Cooper be practically the whole show. The rest of the good cast, including Frank Morgan, Patricia Collinge, Mary Treen, Edmond Breon and even the pretty girls, who are Casanova's ex-wife and wife-to-be, play almost minor rôles. While Nunnally Johnson's script has some funny lines and several humorous situations (like the amazing sequence in which Cas is examined at the maternity hospital) the film on the whole is static and talky; character is developed mainly through words and close-ups. I suspect that "Casanova Brown" in spite of its flimsy plot and slow action will have great appeal for all mamas, yes and for papas who have ever tried to master baby's formula. Then too it may appeal to Cooper

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fans—for it has a lot of close-ups of Gary, and he charmingly mugs through them all.

In *"Arsenic and Old Lace,"* Cary Grant goes in for quite a bit of mugging too. But then he has cause to as anyone will understand who saw or even heard of (and who hasn't?) Joseph Kesselring's comedy about the two sweet old ladies in Brooklyn who think they're doing a good deed by poisoning lonesome old men. Grant plays the debonair drama critic who runs in with his bride (Priscilla Lane), discovers the corpse in the window seat, and almost goes as screwy as the other Brewsters before the night is over. Producer-Director Frank Capra was working under difficulty in making a film out of this popular play. Because its plot and many of its situations were so well known, Capra had to substitute speed for surprise and had to use as many cinema tricks as possible to heighten the novelty. In spite of his successful direction and the finished acting throughout, I grew tired of the whole thing long before it was over. Julius and Philip Epstein have fashioned a good script from the original play. The cast, which includes several people from the stage version, is excellent. But, somehow, the comic possibilities of murder and insanity run out before the tale is told—even when told with Capra's fast pace. Cary Grant in his most dashing manner is given opportunity again and again to be astounded by the goings-on in the Brewster house. And you are supposed to be more astonished than Cary—as the dear aunts (played by Josephine Hull and Jean Adair) reveal that there are eleven more bodies in the basement, as the batty brother (John Alexander), who thinks he's Teddy Roosevelt, tears in and out of the living room, as another mad brother (Raymond Massey), who looks like Boris Karloff, comes with his playfully murderous pal (Peter Lorre) and insists on having things his way in the household. While Director Capra succeeds in scaring you from time to time and in making you laugh (somewhat hysterically) he never succeeds (fortunately) in making you believe this is happening. The jokes and events are just too screwball. Much of the original play's suspense is lost through the film's close-ups. I have a strong suspicion, however, that this little study in gruesome horror was highly overrated. But as a movie it could never be called dull. Its lines sparkle; and Cary Grant fans will be delighted to see their star register everything from love to incredulity. Even in the torture scene, with a gag over his face, Grant can express hope, fear, cunning and a wonderful brand of amazement.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Editors' Choice

THE ADVENTURES OF THE YOUNG SOLDIER IN SEARCH OF THE BETTER WORLD. *C. E. M. Joad. Arco.* $2.00.

For Everybody

C. E. M. JOAD is a witty and inconsistent and broadly popular English philosopher whose first experience after taking his degree at Oxford was a long spell spent in the civil service; since then he has been

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teaching at Birbeck College in the University of London and during the war he has been a mainstay of the BBC. Mr. Joad's books are always amusing and refreshing and provoking; his latest offering, "The Adventures of the Young Soldier in Search of the Better World," is perhaps the best-knit and most polished of all. It is certainly vastly amusing and should prove a delightful inoculant against all sorts of viruses.

This slim volume begins with a young British officer who has been listening to a radio talk by Sir Stafford Cripps on "What We Are Fighting For." Sir Stafford has said "We are fighting to make a better and a happier world." The young officer admits that this is very nice, but wonders how it is to be done. He has always had the habit of asking questions—a habit not altogether to his worldly advantage. So he wanders off into a forest in which his unit is stationed and very soon begins to meet all kinds of strange characters, each with a very definite idea of what sort of a world we are going to have after the war. It begins with an older officer, Captain Percy Nick, who in the end sprouts a pair of horns and turns out to be the Old Nick. This dubious individual is completely cynical on the ground that a mess was made after the last war and therefore a mess will be made after this war. "The only thing that men learn from history," he says, "is that men learn nothing from history . . ." which the Young Soldier properly dismisses as utter cynicism. His next encounter is with a personification of all radio optimists, who assures him that everything will go well in such a silly and official tone that the Young Soldier turns away in equal disgust.

There follows a succession of characters for whom you may easily recognize flesh-and-blood counterparts—a jolly pair who are convinced that the only thing to do with Germany is to destroy it, one of them a politician and the other a clergyman. Both preach a doctrine of force which is the precise counterpart of nazism. We then are confronted with Mr. Transportouse, who represents a conservative form of socialism, and who has two little helpers in the form of Mr. Ema (Education for the Masses) and Miss Ame (Ministress for Amenities). The three of them build a beautiful picture of what a reformist labor party would like to do in the way of improving the physical environment of the British people—which they expect to accomplish principally by means of education and legislation.

★

Then we are whisked to a horrid world indeed, where the honors are shared by the Red-tape Worm and a Robot, the latter symbolizing the parties of the extreme Left. The Red-tape Worm is a frank advocate of a more efficient government bureaucracy which shall simply perfect the techniques of ruling all citizens for their own good and leaving them no freedom whatever. The Robot —easily the most diverting of Mr. Joad's gruesome inventions—though completely mechanical has the ability to turn on a record which spins out an answer to any question the Young Soldier may ask. But since the answers are all standardized, they have precisely the diverting irrelevance of all doctrinaire Marxist apologetics. And there are many other precious details about the construction of this fabulously apt creature.

The Young Soldier accuses both of these gentry, but particularly the Red-tape Worm, of having forgotten the soul, so this hideous character produces his substitutes.

This Publishing Business

WE HAVE TO BE TOLD

I am still starry-eyed from a conversation.

"Religion and education are incompatible," said the educator, "because religion claims to be an answer, whereas education can only be a search."

"If education can only be a search," said I, "it seems to follow that if you ever find what you're searching for, education will have to stop."

"Ah," said he, beaming with idiot satisfaction, "but we never will."

And he left me, presumably to continue his search, driven on by the unshakable hope of never finding.

I shall send him a copy of J. K. Heydon's new book *God of Love*: not that he will read it, but there is always the chance that one of his pupils might—for he is the de luxe sort of educator who educates other educators—and Heydon's book is a first-rate antidote for that disease of the intellect which consists in seeing the known truth as the enemy.

The case for Revelation is in its elements very simple: there are certain truths which man needs to know if he is to plan his life intelligently—for example he *must* know where he is from and where he is going and why he is here; these things he cannot find out for himself—he must either be told by the God who put him here or else continue in ignorance; and it can be shown that God has in fact told us. To the believer the argument is overwhelming; and he wonders why it leaves the doubter quite cold. The truth is that the believer, though he states the argument thus stripped, is not in his own mind seeing it thus stripped: he is seeing it clothed in the flesh and blood of his knowledge of God and God's love for man and the dynamic effect upon his own soul of the known truth. He does not realize that the case for revelation he is presenting to the doubter is superbly adequate *as a skeleton*: and that ordinary men are not equipped for falling in love with a skeleton.

The value of Heydon's book is that he shows the necessity and the fact of revelation in the context of the whole relation of the universe to God. To be told that God has given a revelation will affect you little if "God" is no more than a word, a vague smudge on the back wall of the mind. But Heydon's proof of God's existence establishes Him as a God of love: and the universe is shown bound part to part and all to God by love: and all this shown not only richly and satisfyingly but with strength and masculinity, too. For if he rejoices in the flesh and blood of reality, he knows that the skeleton is essential.

No one could have a better all round equipment for talking of God to the modern man. Heydon is a classical scholar who chose to graduate in science and mathematics on his way to the family law firm (this part of his training explains the rigorous force of his proof of the Church's claims); as a sideline he ran a great manufacturing business in Australia: then, in his prime, retired from law and business alike to devote his mind to philosophy and theology.

My strange educator would be appalled by him—for he searches in the hope of finding: and it would be hard to call him uneducated. ($2.25) —F.J.S.

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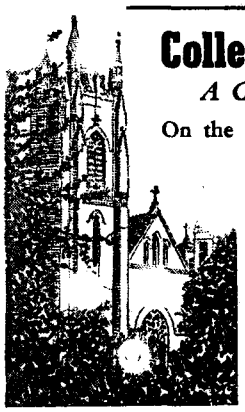

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They consist of Oxford Group-ers, Christian Scientists, Astrologers, Theosophists, who sing and dance in wild abandon, elaborating their notions.

The utter revulsion of the Young Soldier finally leads to his chopping the Red-tape Worm into pieces with his commando knife—but, "then was seen a horrible thing: for each segment grew a separate head and a separate tail and its own spine of pins and its own armor of paper clips and all together they began tee-heeing and dribbling streams of ink."

★

Whereupon Mr. Heardhux comes upon the scene and informs the Young Soldier that he had been quite right in accusing these people of having forgotten the soul. Mr. Heardhux proceeds to expound the Heard-Huxley brand of mysticism without theology until finally the Young Soldier pricks that bubble by asking, "But why on earth should the universal spirit take the trouble to manifest itself at all? As far as I can see, you begin with reality, a universal spirit, which is not only completely real but, I suppose, is very good. It goes out of its way to manifest itself in partially real beings, who, to put it mildly, are not very good, in order that if all goes for the best they can discover and make contact with their true selves and so achieve reality again. I am blest if I can see the point of it all. Especially as things may not go for the best, but for the worst, as I can't help thinking they are doing now."

"I don't see the point of it either!" Mr. Joad himself interjects, as he makes his personal appearance. He thereupon proceeds to give the Young Soldier a lot of sensible advice—to the general effect that the better world will be nothing like as much better as some people may hope but nothing like as bad as others may fear. For our salvation both faith and works are needed. The doctrinaires forget the works and the Red-tape Worms forget the faith. Of all of the special pleaders the Young Soldier has met in his forest, Mr. Transportouse makes the most sense, but he too treads a little heavily on works. The works we can all see how to help along; it is the faith that is hard to come by, but come by it we must. Mr. Joad is not bold enough to suggest what this faith should be, but he makes it perfectly clear that it does not consist in any of the "seven devils worse than the first" proposed by the Red-tape Worm. Everyone who wonders about the world after the war owes it to himself to read this book.

CONTRIBUTORS

Helen ISWOLSKY is the daughter of a former Russian cabinet minister and diplomat. She for many years lived in Paris and is now a resident of New York. She is the author of several books, the most recent of which is "Soul of Russia."

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